5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

if the vessel overturned. Large rectangular baskets, turned upside down 285
and provided with wooden legs 4 to 5 inches (10 cm.) tall, served as tables (matoutou). The basketry technique was used also in the manufacture of strainers, sieves, and mats, the functions of which have been described above. In historic times the natives had brooms.

The weaving of cloth may not have been an original part of *Carib* 286
culture. The women had wooden spindles for making thread and used belt looms for weaving it. They stretched the warp threads from a stick on one side of the house to a stick on the other; then two women wove in the weft, beating the threads down with a sword-shaped stick. The cloth was dyed with various colors, particularly red, and was sewn with a needle made from a palmetto spine.

Pottery and gourds.—The *Carib* baked pots and griddles of clay; the 415
former were indispensable for making beer. They had numerous gourd [323]
containers, made by removing the pulp with hot water and pebbles. These included bottles for urucú, covered bowls (coyenbouc) for carrying trinkets, platters, cups, dippers, and spoons. Often they were engraved or painted. Coconut shells were treated in the same manner.

Woodworking.—The men not only carved canoes of wood but also 322
they made bowls, which were used primarily for drinking bouts, and stools, which either were solid or were provided with four legs.

Fire making.—The people made fire by rubbing one mahot stick 372
against another.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Except in wartimes, each *Carib* village seems to have been an indepen- 621
dent organization. It consisted of an extended family which had split away from some other village and was headed by its founder. This man, 622
called a carbet chief or tiubutuli-hauthe, had charge of the carbet and of the entertainment which took place therein. He probably also supervised fishing and the cultivation of the land, which seems to have been communal. Although he was treated with deference, he had little authority. The *Carib* men were individualists, and they looked down upon the [157]
Europeans for taking orders.

Each island also had one or two war chiefs, called ubutu, who were 624
elected to hold office for life. Except that ownership of a caracoli seems to have been one of the requirements for this chieftainship, no heredity was involved in the office. However, a son might succeed his father if he could prove himself worthy. He had to be an experienced warrior with a good record, excel in swimming and diving, show that he could carry a greater burden than his followers, and bear burning and slashing of his flesh without flinching.

The war chief was particularly honored. He was provided with an assistant, and wherever he went he was surrounded by a retinue. His

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

with the mad chief who spoke only Carib. Nevertheless, owing to the Carib's peculiar reticence, as much with one another as with strangers, this does not exclude the possibility of such an encounter having taken place. Likewise, according to present-day Caribs, his story of the army of coast-bound crabs met with in the mountains is either grossly exaggerated or refers to a small species known as the "soldat" or hermit crab—the "cirique" crab disliking the sea, and the other, black or white, land crabs being rarely found on the windward coast, or in the regions mentioned. Ober found a number of older men and women in Salybia who spoke an Indian dialect as their mother tongue, and even noted the persistence, in that late day, of the differentiation between men's and women's languages. He mentions the snake legend, and speaks of finding archeological remains in St. Vincent, but not in Dominica. (I have heard of, though not seen, old stone implements and "rocks with writing" on the wooded heights between the Akayu River and the Araturi Ravine.) At the time of Ober's visits the so-called reserve was somewhat smaller than at present, but there were other Carib lands and settlements at North End (between the Pegoua and Marigot), Wesley (La Soie), Calibishie, Penville, Morne Caraïbe, and Délice.

In June 1903 the Carib Reserve in its present form was created by decree, and its boundaries delimited as extending from the Akayu (or Raymond) River (some say the Araturi Ravine, and there seems to be no existing document to settle the matter) to Kuària (or Big River), a dry ravine, along the coast, inland, up the latter ravine to the ridge, and hence down the Ravine Pomme to the Pegoua River, which the boundary then follows up to Deux Branches, whence it cuts across in a straight line to the Akayu River. This decree made no attempt to define the status of the reserve, nor of its inhabitants and their chief. In point of fact, the Caribs merely continued their traditional custom of electing from their numbers a chief or headman (ûbutu), whose duty it is to advise and direct members of the tribe and to settle such disputes as may arise among them. For some years prior to 1930 this institution received a degree of official recognition, with remuneration to the extent of 10 shillings ($2.40) a month. In return for which the local government held the chief responsible for order within the reserve generally, and for the upkeep of the coastal bridle path through Carib territory.

In September 1930, a few days after the hurricane, and a month after my first visit, the so-called "Carib War" took place. Five negro policemen invaded the reserve, seized some tobacco and rum they alleged to be contraband, and made two arrests. Then, a dispute arising, they opened fire on an unarmed crowd of men, women, and children, killing two and injuring others. The Caribs in their turn set upon the police with stick and stone and chased them from

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

fifty years ago—two and a half centuries after Breton's stay in the island—Rat found both terms still in use: "A modern Carib is called by his countrymen, *Karífuna*. In referring to the whole race of Caribs, the word *Karínaku* is used," he says; and rather naively comments: "Raymond Breton does not mention Karífuna"! 101

There appear to be four names, with their variations, applied to the Caribs—the first by themselves, the other three being examples of how they were "called names" by their neighbors and enemies:

1. Callínago, calínago, kalína, karínaku, karína (see kinship term 5) *harmless* > stem kari- *hurt, harm,* and suffix, -na *(free)from* (cf. Breton's "callinémeti *homme paisible, homme de bien*").

2. Callíponam, caripuna, karipúna, caripoune, carifoona, karífuna, kàripúna (see kinship term 6) *people disposed to hurt* (cf. Breton's karibúteti *sensitive, touchy* > Rat's kaifúteti *fearsome*).

3 Galíbi, caníbi, caríbe, caríve, caribbe, charibbee, carib, charib, cariva, caribisce, callibíshi, caribisi, carabish. These names, although usually taken to be European corruptions of 2, may well derive from the stem kari- (see above) and, as suffix -ibe *tribe, kin* (see term 8, and cf. kibeti *many*) and connote *harmful* or *hurtful nation.*

4. Similarly [kawáibe?] > kawahíb, k'wáib (the present local Creole term) > Kráibo (place name) and French caraïbe; probably meant *quarrelsome people, tribe,* or *nation* (cf. kawáiti *quarrelsome*).

Breton tells us that there were two main chiefs, one for the leeward, another for the windward side of Dominica, with minor chiefs or headmen in charge of the several settlements or carbets (< tábuy *longhouse*). Breton says he was laughed at when he greeted one of these with the word for chief; and from other sources it does not appear that they exercised any great authority. In wartime, a special commander was appointed to lead the combined forces of several islands; and each boat had its own captain. The forces of Dominica were said to take the lead in such campaigns. War-time leaders could exact obedience, but had to relinquish their positions at the termination of an expedition. We are told that chiefs and their sons did not follow the usual custom of matrilocal residence after marriage, but brought their wives to their own homes. The tradition of one-time royalty probably refers to an hereditary chieftainship; but it is evident that at the time of which the chroniclers wrote chiefs were elected and might even be deposed. Candidates for chieftainship were selected on the 622 [624] [701] 624 622 [591]

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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622 basis of their supposed wisdom and powers of endurance, and had to submit to such tests as fasting, drinking tobacco juice (a powerful emetic), stinging by wasps or ants, and scarification with agouti-tooth lancets.

Today the tribe as a whole elects a chief for his real or self-advertised ability to safeguard its interests and improve its lot. Unless deposed for gross injustice, he holds office for life; but no particular privileges attach to the position. Having no means of enforcing sanctions, his rule is limited to that of a patermal arbiter.[2]

[701] All records insist on the democratic character of Island Carib society. Only [593] those who so desired joined a war party. A father would not dream of telling a sixteen year old son to come fishing, but merely announce his own intention of [562] going. "Orders are given to none but women and slaves," says Labat; and adds that as far as he saw, both these classes were treated gently, and that many Caribs 567 had real affection for their wives. The statement that they were also very jealous, and might kill a woman suspected of infidelity without proof or further ado 684 rather loses significance when we learn that, in their cups, Caribs frequently [578] cracked the heads of men whom they considered to have injured them, and that in such cases, only the family of the victim, if they held the deed as unjustifiable, would take up the vendetta. Moreover, should a deceived husband not kill his wife immediately after discovering her guilt, not only must he not hark back to the subject later, but he was supposed to tolerate subsequent lapses provided they be with the same man (see term 20)! This latter, however, if challenged by the aggrieved husband, must bow his head and submit to being slashed with a knife, but was at liberty to return the challenge under the same conditions later. [855] Children were disciplined little, and then, more out of sporadic ill-humor than in their own interest.

593 Although it has faded somewhat in the course of the last three hundred years, the above picture is still recognizable in its outline. The father has final authority in the household, although he usually leaves the management of children

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648 2 As a consequence of the so-called "Carib War" of September 1930 (see Douglas Taylor,
622 *The Caribs of Dominica*, Anthropological Papers, no. 3, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnol-
623 ogy, no. 119, pp. 103-159, 1938), the late chief Jolly John was "cashiered" by the local British
[666] authorities. A plebiscite by show of hands, held in the presence of the magistrate, resulted in his re-election by the Caribs, who continued to regard him as Chief until his death in 1942. Nevertheless, at the instigation of the local authorities, a council of five was appointed to replace the "office of chief," which was discontinued. Divided amongst themselves, its members have attempted little and accomplished less. The number of disputes settled by them without recourse to the magistrate is but a fraction of those successfully arbitrated formerly by the chief. Thus far, their only united effort has been directed toward urging the local authorities (who give them each a yearly "Christmas box" of $5) to raise their "pay"!